



A EUROPEAN LEGACY

Landscapes, Estates, and Manors in Northern Europe

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This paper examines the relationship between the role and significance of the estate landscape – the manor house, its villages, farms, fields, and the forest or wasteland – and the social, economic, and political changes across northern Europe between 1500 and 1900. It argues that patterns of land ownership, inheritance, and the ties that held the people to the land had a significant impact on the cultural landscapes that developed over the period and that we have inherited in the twenty-first century. Much of what has been written concerns, on the one hand, the traditional economic and social histories of elites and landowners or, on the other, the changing balance of land used for economic purposes, such as the productivity of arable land, pasture, or forest. The impact of the former on the latter is at the heart of

historic landscape studies, but the link between power, patterns of ownership, and the changing landscape has not always been made explicit. Furthermore, when this link has been drawn, it is almost always within the confines of a single country or locality, making it difficult to draw broader comparisons across northern Europe and beyond. However, there are clearly parallel historical trajectories across the region in the development of estate landscapes, although we must be careful not to obscure significant distinctions with broad or general labels.¹ The extent to which our histories, particularly in northern Europe, have been interlinked and dependent is evident from the most basic examination of trade, culture, and conflict, yet comparative studies are few and far between. This paper seeks to identify areas that are worthy of further examination.

Ownership and Control

The diverse social, political, and economic history of northern Europe over the last five hundred years is arguably underpinned by the importance of land ownership. Until the widespread influence of industrialisation and urbanisation became dominant in the late-nineteenth century, land was the primary source of sustained economic and social power. Service at court or in govern-

Harewood House and park, West Yorkshire, United Kingdom. Harewood House, like many manor or country houses, sits within a complex landscape. The approach road (left) provides glimpses of the house as it winds through the parkland, which is surrounded by a dense belt of trees, beyond which lies the agricultural land of the estate and its communities. Photo: Jonathan Finch.

ment, or investment in transatlantic trade, might have secured considerable wealth for individuals and created new family dynasties, but it was land that offered the most secure form of capital wealth and was the foundation of political power, both locally and nationally.

The distribution of land between the crown, the nobility, and freeholders varied enormously over the region, as did the way in which it was held and inherited. The religious Reformations during the sixteenth century caused a fundamental realignment of land ownership across northern Europe, but the results were far from uniform or predictable. In England, for example, the crown quickly sold off the church lands it had acquired during the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s, often to merchants and the gentry, but much of this land found its way to the aristocracy through a relatively rapid series of sales.² In Denmark, the redistribution of church lands after a rather different Lutheran Reformation saw the concentration of ownership in the hands of the crown and the nobility.³

The value of land, and therefore of an estate, was determined by a number of variables that included, amongst other things, how densely populated the region was, the productivity of the soil, available natural resources, and the relationship with the local labouring population. In the Netherlands, which historically have been densely populated, land had a higher intrinsic value, which fostered relatively small units of land ownership of relatively high value. Land value could also be derived from the natural resources it held. In Norway and Sweden, for example, where the population per hectare was lower than in the Netherlands, it was the iron ore and mills located along rivers that were a source of considerable wealth for the landowners, as industrial production and

international trade increased through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The terms used to describe various elements within the landscape and the tenurial relationships that held them together can be used to map, very generally, similarities and differences across northern Europe. For example, *herregård*, *landgoed*, or *Gut* were used across Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and northern German territories, to signify and ensure the continuation of financial and tax privileges associated with the manorial landscape from around the sixteenth century until the land reforms of the nineteenth century. However, as the historian Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen has noted, the term *herregård*, was a colloquial or popular term for the “lord’s farm”, whereas *sædegård* was a more formal legal term for a “residential farm” or “seat”, and *hovedgård* meant “capital farm” in the sense of the Latin *curia principalis*, which was used in early documents.⁴ He notes that the common element is *gård*, meaning farm, acknowledging the productive and extractive aspect of the manorial complex, physically manifested by large barns, dairies, cow byres, and dovecotes, for example.

However, these terms are usually translated into English as “manor”, from the Norman-French *manoir*, which relates to the rights and jurisdiction over a landscape rather than to a farm or to the practice of agriculture. The manor as an institution was in decline across Britain from at least the fifteenth century, and many of its responsibilities were transferred to the parish in the sixteenth century, although the manorial court often survived as an arena to resolve minor agricultural disputes, such as damage to hedges or over-grazing of common land. Similarly, the term “manor house” fell from use in Britain, particularly after the building boom of the



Temple Newsam, the Seat of the Rt. Hon. Lord Ingram, by Leonard Knyff & Johannes Kip, published in 1707. This image of Temple Newsam near Leeds in West Yorkshire (United Kingdom) shows the Jacobean house in its formal axial landscape with avenues stretching out from the house across the landscape demonstrating the reach and power of the Ingram family. The productive gardens and service buildings in front of the house and to the left were swept away when Capability Brown (1716-83) redesigned the parkland in the late 1760s. However, the home farm (far right) was retained and enlarged. Leeds Museums and Galleries. This resource is licensed under Creative Commons BY-NC-ND.



The blacksmith's forge at Gammel Estrup, Denmark, dated 1761. It is situated close to the road into the local village and to the huge barns and estate buildings that form courtyards in front of the manor house, but far enough away as not to present a fire hazard. Photo: Jonathan Finch.

early-eighteenth century, when wealthy landowners built new residences in the classical style, often on new sites away from their medieval predecessors. Manorial terms were too strongly associated with the medieval feudal system that was both at odds with the ideology of modernity and increasingly irrelevant within the capitalist agrarian landscape. The political settlement in the 1660s, following the restoration of the monarchy, swept away most of the remnants of feudalism associated with the manor. Paradoxically, both the strengthening of manorial rights in some other areas of Northern Europe and their erosion in Britain and elsewhere were responses to the same problem of labour shortages and an increasingly monetarised market for agricultural goods through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Many of the countries and states in northern Europe encountered various repercussions of shifting power and wealth over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The English Civil Wars and the period of republican rule in the 1640s ended with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, albeit under a moderate set of relationships between parliament and crown. The ascendancy of parliament and its relative freedom from the crown was underlined by the “Glorious Revolution” in 1689 which ostensibly assured the Protestant succession, but also strengthened the rights and independence of the landowning classes. However, in the German territories, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden the devastating impact of the Thirty Years’ War (1618-48) had a profound impact on the crown and nobility. In Denmark-Norway and in Sweden, the crown assumed absolute powers in the 1660s. In order to pay off debts incurred during the recent wars, the Danish king redistributed land amongst the nobility, increasing the proportion of land owned by the nobility, although the

number of *herremænd* or manor owners in Denmark remained relatively constant through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In Sweden the “Great Reduction” of 1683 saw the crown reclaim land previously granted to the nobility, reducing their wealth and influence. The situation in Sweden is illustrative of how changes could impact the physical landscape.⁵ The late sixteenth century saw the introduction of counts (*grevar*) and barons (*friherrer*), dividing the landowning elite between the titled (*högadel*) and untitled (*lågadel*) nobility. The change was accompanied by a shift to noble status becoming hereditary by all children. Between 1550 and 1680, the nobility increased the proportion of their landownership from 22 percent to 65 percent, largely through donations and sales from the crown. However, in 1680 the crown and non-nobles voted to reclaim much of the land and to end many of the noble privileges, including the right to create tax-exempt manors (*säterier*). The nobility were, however, granted the right to entail their property (*fideikommiss*), taking them out of the traditional systems of partible inheritance and enabling them to maintain the integrity of their estates. The fortunes of the Swedish nobility continued to decline through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as economic and political power shifted away to the gentry (*ståndspersoner*) who prospered in the expanding civil service, military, and commercial economy. Just as in Britain, marriages between the non-noble gentry and the established landowning elite increased through the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. At the same time, noble privileges, such as the sole right to tax-exempt land and hereditary ennoblement, continued to be lost or eroded, which, along with the burgeoning

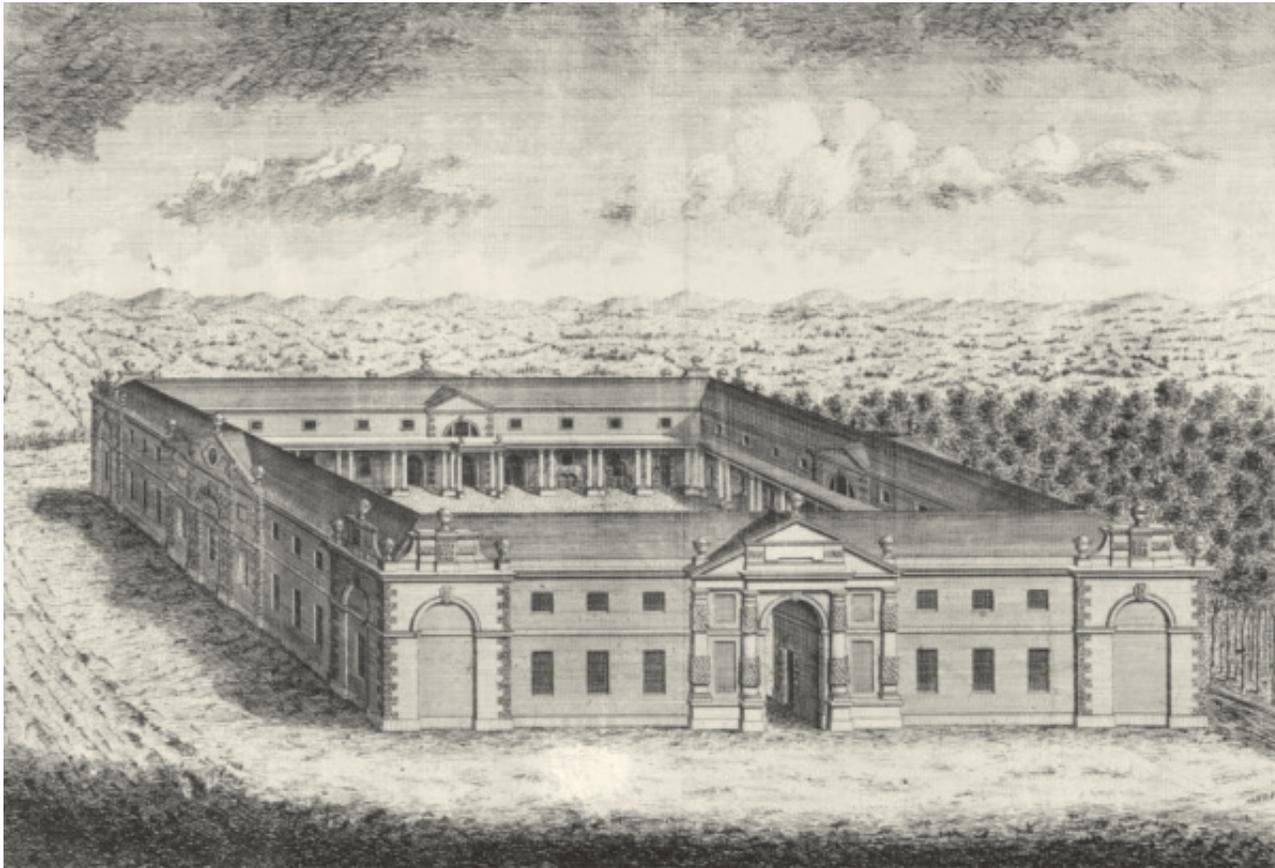
land market, pushed many noble families into urban and professional lifestyles alongside their non-noble peers.

Prevailing inheritance customs are another important consideration in the relative importance of the manor or estate within the wider landscape. How land was passed down between generations could have a radical impact both on the landscape itself and on the ability of wealthy families to sustain their wealth and social position. In order to simplify a very complex situation it is perhaps possible to identify three systems of inheritance that operated across northern Europe. In some areas of Scandinavia, land was divided between all offspring; in the northern Germanic regions it was shared between all sons; and in Britain it was inherited only by the eldest son, under primogeniture. Inheritance practices are important to understand because they could determine the size and sustainability of estates and could therefore drive marriage strategies and the development of legal measures designed to maintain units of landholding against the vicissitudes of death and sales. In Britain, where primogeniture ensured the estate passed as a whole to the eldest son, a form of entail called “strict settlement” emerged as a legal measure that made the heir a “tenant for life” and actually settled the estate on trustees who usually acted on behalf of the heir’s (usually as yet unborn) eldest son.⁶ This prevented the alienation or sale of the estate to meet short-term needs, such as gambling debts, as well as preventing its division between offspring. It was widely adopted by landowners after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and was a key development in securing the dominance of the estate in the post-medieval landscape. Unsurprisingly, similar measures were adopted across

other parts of northern Europe, including Scandinavia and northern Germany, where large estates were entailed in *fideikommiss* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to prevent their fragmentation among siblings.⁷ In south-western Germany, however, customary practices of partible inheritance prevailed, making it difficult for landowning families to maintain larger estates. One way to enlarge an estate, whether in an area of partible inheritance or primogeniture was by marriage. Under primogeniture, eldest sons and widows became extremely desirable marriage prospects, whilst under partible systems marriage was one of the few ways to consolidate land, particularly by bringing neighbouring estates together.

In Britain, by contrast, where feudal dues were eroded from the late fourteenth century, where primogeniture prevailed, and where large landowners secured considerable independence from the crown both financially and politically in the late seventeenth century, the landowning classes were able to build up considerable landed estates. Historians have generally used 3,000 acres (approximately 1,214 hectares) as the minimum necessary to sustain a ‘polite’ lifestyle whilst above 10,000 acres (approximately 4,047 hectares) marked out the greater landowners, mostly made up of the hereditary peers (titular nobility), as of national importance, although by the eighteenth century this group also included some non-hereditary peers (baronets and knights).⁸ It is important to note however, both that many country houses were surrounded by estates with less than 3,000 acres of land, and that the largest estates were often in upland areas of the north.

Unlike Sweden, there was no bureaucratic attempt to systematically capture the pattern or extent of land-



The new stables for Harewood House, West Yorkshire (United Kingdom) were built in 1748, ten years before the new house was begun. Having satisfied his patron, John Carr (1723-1807) was then commissioned to design the main house which was built between 1759-71. The Gott Collection.



The two orangeries at Gammel Estrup (Denmark) provided heat and shelter to grow exotic plants from across the globe that provided colour and scent to the gardens next to the main house, but which would not survive outside. The orangeries were built around 1725 as an iconic element in the French-style baroque garden. Photo: Jonathan Finch.

holding amongst these groups until the late nineteenth century, when the growing demand for franchise reform forced an examination of the property qualification which still underpinned the right to vote. The data in the *Return of Owners of Land* from 1875 was reworked

by John Bateman (1839-1910) and published as *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*. This first national survey revealed that 1,363 landowners owned more than 3,000 acres (approximately 1,214 hectares) who collectively owned around 12.5 million

acres (approximately 5,058,570 hectares) or 43 percent of the land area of England. Looking more closely at the landowners, 331 ‘great landowners’ (over 10,000 acres each) owned over seven million acres, almost a quarter (approximately 24 percent) of English land, and a further 1,032 ‘greater gentry’ (3,000 to 9,999 acres each) owned five and a half million acres (19 percent), almost a fifth of the land area.⁹

The distinguishing characteristic of land ownership, however, were the people who inhabited it and their relationship to the landowner. In the early modern period, there was a strong sense that the agrarian structure was a medieval legacy; however, the feudal relationships were eroded, given up, and eventually replaced by modern leases with land held in severalty over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The rate of change in tenure was driven by political and economic factors, including agricultural improvement and land reform, which together can be taken as an index of similarity, difference and change across the region.

The way in which people held land from their local lord varied enormously. The medieval concept of villeinage persisted in some areas of northern Europe into the nineteenth century, whereas it had disappeared before the sixteenth century in others. The balance between income from rent and free labour provided by tenants who worked the lord’s land varied over time and between areas across Europe. The form of the tenancies and the terms used to describe how tenants held land varied considerably, making comparisons and generalisations difficult. In England, for example, rent in the form of free labour from tenants was virtually extinguished by 1450, a century after the Black Death, as landlords who had struggled to find tenants willing

to subject themselves to manorial duties preferred to receive cash rents. A similar trend was evident in the Low Countries and in northern France, whereas *corvée* labour – labour as rent – continued into the nineteenth century in Denmark, elsewhere in Scandinavia, and in the eastern states of Germany. The situation was further complicated by the fact that tenants were also subject to a number of fees payable on births, marriages, deaths, or tenancy renewal; however, the custom of retaining manorial labour dues appears to relate to the scarcity or value of labour and the continued manorial exemption from taxes.

The Landscape Context

Having outlined the social and economic context of the landowning classes, it is important to reconstruct the cultural landscape of the estate – the character of the landscape associated with the estate – and to understand some of the characteristics of the estates that stood out in the landscape. The network of rights over the landscape as well as the different legal ties that bound people to manorial landscapes are sometimes difficult to reconstruct, but they had an impact on the landscape itself. Unlike today, when ownership is often hidden within the contemporary landscape, historic landscapes were conspicuously marked by patterns of ownership.

Estates have been characterised as having a “core and periphery” with the main house at the core.¹⁰ From the eighteenth century in Britain, the “home” or demesne farm, which supplied the main house and produced a surplus for market, would be close by, and then the tenanted or tied farmland would form the outer periphery, along with any woodland. Across much of the rest of northern Europe, the manor was itself the main farm

or *gård*, and only larger royal estates followed the British model with separate palace and farm. This simple binary model obscures some important nuances, such as the service buildings that were grouped together in a yard. In Scandinavia, where the courtyard plan of the manor house survived well into the eighteenth century, the house was closely associated with extensive ranges of barns, stables, stores, and workshops because they signified the manors' continued connection to the productive landscape and the tax benefits associated with manorial status. They also symbolised the working community that served the estate, representing the many facets of the commonwealth held under the estate and the leadership of the landowner. Barns in particular could be used to signify the extent and productivity of the estate through their sheer size; such was their importance they were often ornamented with the date they were built. Several workshops were also present, such as the joiner's shop and blacksmith's forge – both vital to the maintenance and smooth running of the estate.

In Britain, this arrangement was common into the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and some survive, as at Temple Newsam in West Yorkshire. However, from the late-eighteenth century, when the surrounding parkland was frequently redesigned along more naturalistic lines, as popularised by famous landscape designer Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1716-83), these buildings were moved away from the main house, leaving the new neoclassical houses isolated in the park.¹¹

Another set of buildings were associated with animals. The stables were often considered to be the most important service building on the estate, designed to care for the wide range of horses used by the household, rather than the working horses, upon which a landowner

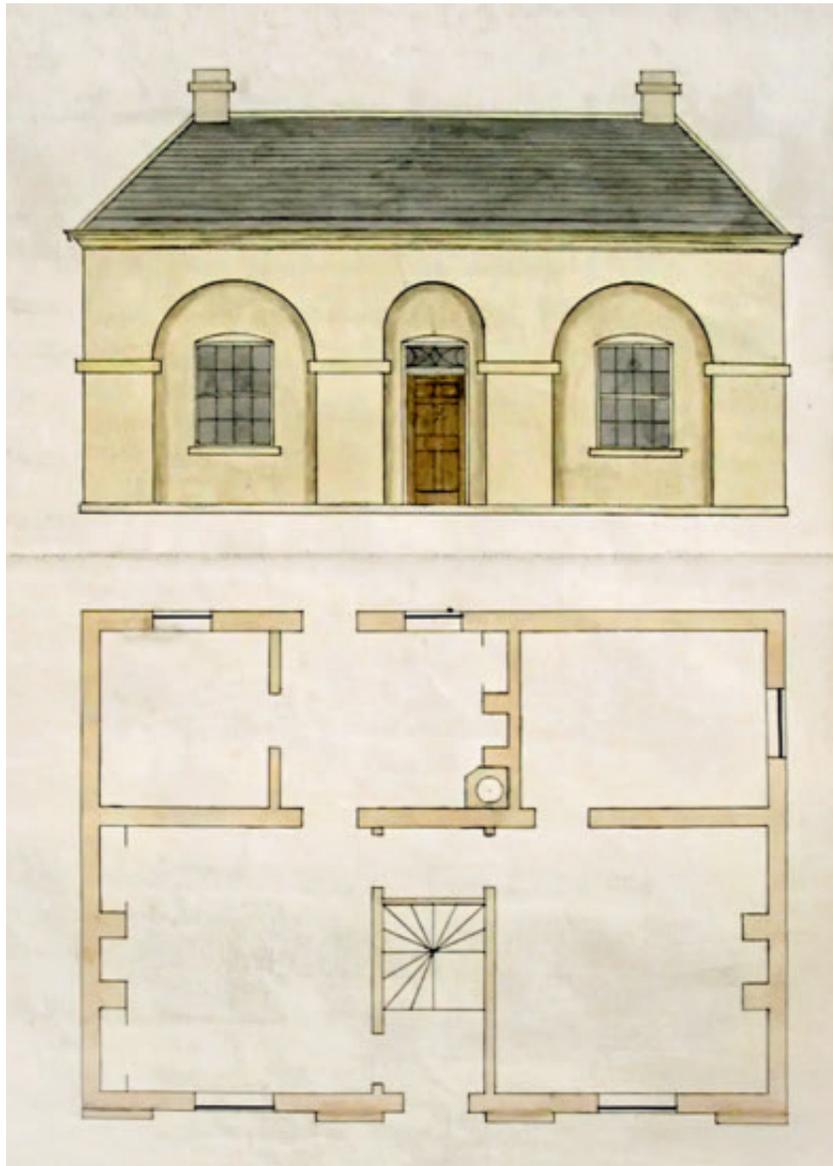
would spend considerable amounts of money.¹² In Britain they maintained a close connection to the main house and could be important architectural contributions in their own right. At Harewood House in West Yorkshire, the relatively untried local architect, John Carr of York (1723-1807), was given the task of designing the new stable block, before being entrusted with the commission for the new house in the 1750s.

Within the parkland of larger houses there might also be ornamental aviaries or menageries, but kennels for hunting dogs were more common. Although there are eighteenth century examples, most are additions from the late-nineteenth century when fox-hunting was at the height of its popularity. They were often at a greater distance from the house than the stables, due to the smell of the boiling bones and rotten meat they were fed.¹³

The kitchen or walled garden was another important location of considerable capital expenditure and labour costs, tasked with supplying the household with fresh vegetables, fruit and cut flowers. Glasshouses and heated walls allowed the head gardeners to grow and ripen exotic species of fruit such as the apricot and, most famously, the pineapple, following the expansion of western colonialism around the world.

This technology and innovation was also used to produce fruit and flowers out of season, allowing the landowner to surprise their guests with out-of-season delicacies. The head gardener was also expected to guide guests around the walled garden and its hothouses as part of the tour of the parkland, to demonstrate the owner's power to overcome even the rhythms of Nature.

The parkland, which could itself be dotted with follies and garden buildings providing rest and viewpoints, was often marked with a clear boundary wall, which given



A simple eighteenth-century cottage design from the Burton Constable estate in East Yorkshire, United Kingdom. Probably designed by the local architect Timothy Lightoler (1727-69). It features external symmetry and a classically inspired facade, with a lobby entrance arrangement to enhance warmth, comfort, and privacy in the two main heated rooms on the ground floor. Burton Constable Archives, East Riding Archives.



the size of many parks, could be extensive. Designed to keep poachers out and to screen the parkland from the plebeian gaze more generally, it spoke clearly of the social divide between the landowning class and the rural population. Entrance to the parkland was, by the early nineteenth century, overseen by lodge gates, often in the form of small cottages, as favoured in Britain by landscape designer Humphry Repton (1752-1818), who sought to re-establish a more paternalistic sense of relationships between the landowner and the estate community.

Architecture was one of the most common expressions of estate identity. Uniform architectural styles were used by estate owners building worker properties on their land from the mid-eighteenth century in Britain, when pattern books and examples of ideal cottages became widely available.

Sometimes distinguished by a coat of arms, a monogram, or a date stone, these cottages demonstrated the owner's paternalistic interest in the workforce and expressed their engagement with the latest ideas about poor relief and welfare. As part of the push for modern "improvements" that demonstrated a landowner's enlightened attitude to the estate community, cottages in the classical style with separate bedrooms were adopted

as part of a wider programme of improvements across the estate. However, the main period of building seems to have been between 1865-1875 in Britain, in response to changes in the laws about provision for the poor.¹⁴ Similarly, alms-houses such as those at Hunseby in Denmark, built in the English Tudor revival style in 1874, demonstrated the paternal care of estate workers, even after their working lives had ended.¹⁵

Estate architecture demonstrated the reach of the landowner, through their ability to define the domestic space. The houses could be further associated with the estate through the use of an estate livery or colour on the front doors and window frames.¹⁶ In Denmark, for example, the red-painted half-timbered houses of the Giesegaard estate in Zealand stood out from the houses of the *husmandsbrug* or smallholders.¹⁷ Settlement forms could also be indicative of estate landholding. Estate communities were often accommodated in nucleated settlements where social control could be more easily exercised. Villages were also provided with amenities by the local lord, such as reading rooms, mechanic institutes, churches, and chapels, all aimed at improving the education and moral standing of the tenants.

The combination of increasingly consistent architectural grammar, whether that was classical symmetry in the eighteenth century or gothic in the nineteenth, and control over the tenants gave estate villages a particular character. But beyond the estate boundary, the rural population in Britain was growing rapidly in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the tight control on development exercised within estates meant that most of the population lived outside estate boundaries, where living conditions were far from ideal. The term "slum" is usually associated with the development

These alms-houses at Hunseby are part of the Knuthenborg estate in Denmark, and were commissioned by Eggert Christopher Knuth (1838-74) following the English taste for Tudor revival architecture. The style reflected a contemporary perception that the sixteenth and seventeenth century represented a period of benevolent paternalism. National Museum of Denmark. Photo: Roberto Fortuna.



The lime avenue approach at Clausholm, Denmark, demonstrates the dramatic effect that managed avenues could have within the landscape, leading the eye and the visitor up to the manor house or, in this case, away into the wider estate. Photo: Jonathan Finch.

of industrial towns in the late nineteenth century, but rural slums were also common, often in parishes adjoining large estates, where labouring families often lived in subdivided houses of poor quality, yet paid high rents as demand for accommodation was great.¹⁸

Within the agricultural landscapes, change was also very apparent on estate landscapes. It was the larger landowners across northern Europe who had the resources to implement programmes of “improvement” during the eighteenth century, which sought to apply new scientific and enlightenment principles to the productive landscape. Enclosure of medieval “open” or “strip” fields was one of the major projects across the region, wiping away the complex medieval communal fields and replacing them with large compact farmsteads held by a single tenant, and often farmed from a new purpose-built farmstead. In Britain there were two waves of enclosure – one in the third quarter of the eighteenth century and the second at the beginning of the nineteenth century – which transformed large tracts of the countryside in certain areas, often of lighter soils. New hedgerows were laid across the landscape, creating rectilinear fields, often regardless of the topography. In Denmark, the progress of enclosure was far slower as smaller landowners resisted change, and the majority of the land was enclosed between 1792-1813.¹⁹ In the Netherlands, large landowners were involved in drainage schemes and reclamation projects to extend the areas under cultivation – again supplying the considerable capital necessary. Both the enclosure of open fields and the drainage of marsh lands have been questioned in terms of their economic profitability, but it is also important to see them in the wider context of interventions in the rural landscape by large landowners keen to

demonstrate not just their power and authority, but also their engagement with new techniques and new ideas about the relationship between rurality, the landscape, and society as it changed rapidly.

Another, natural, landscape element deserves mention as being indicative of estate landscapes: trees. Woodland and plantations were conspicuous within the intensively managed agricultural landscape because they required landownership at a large scale, due to the delay between planting and harvest, between investment and return. As such, woodland or forestry attracted a prestige, which was only enhanced by its use for conspicuous leisure, in the form of hunting which was another elite privilege. Some landowners took up the challenge. On the Brocklesby estate in Lincolnshire, United Kingdom, the Pelhams, Earls of Yarborough, claim to have planted an estimated thirty million trees between 1787 and 1938. However, smaller landscape interventions could also declare the presence of a manor house. Roads that approach manor houses in Scandinavia are often planted with trees to create distinctive avenues within the agricultural landscape, which shaded carriages and drew the eye towards the house and gardens.

The Estate Landscape

The estate landscape is perhaps paradoxical: it prospered and benefited from its ancient roots that stretched back into pre-modern times, yet it also realised and embodied the political, social and economic relationships upon which much of the modern world was founded. The estate was where many new relationships based on the value and ownership of labour and of property were negotiated at a time when industrial production and international trade expanded exponentially. The

variation of inheritance patterns created very different responses to generational change amongst landowners. Legal conventions such as *fideikommiss* and entail were developed to prevent the fragmentation of estates, and in doing so better secured continued wealth and power for individual families. This was part of a wider development that saw the commodification of land as a unit of capital, rather than a resource over which complex and overlapping rights were negotiated by communities. Without the ability to own land absolutely, without the commodification of land, estates would not have been such powerful elements within the landscape and landowning families would have had their power limited. Despite its foundations being land, the estate was also the location of many new developments from the sixteenth century. Industrial innovations in water and steam power, sawmills, and iron foundries could all be found on estate

land, often needing the increased capital available on an estate to become established and flourish. Similarly, the rationalism of the Enlightenment was written across the agricultural landscape as medieval fields were swept away by new consolidated enclosures, changing the way people worked and accessed the land. It is important to understand the close relationship between the management of the productive landscape and socio-economic stability. Interventions in the rural landscape were visible expressions of the relationships of power between those who owned the land and those who worked it, and at the heart of many of those ties was the manor house. From being able to develop industrial potential, promote new agricultural practices, or secure forest and woodland resources, estates had the capacity to create a distinctive cultural landscape.

Notes:

- 1 Christiansen 1996, pp. 91-95.
- 2 Aristocracy is used here to mean the titled and untitled elite, a broader social group than the nobility, who were defined by their titles such as Duke or Earl.
- 3 Myking and Rasmussen 2010, p. 11.
- 4 Rasmussen 2019, pp. 131-32.
- 5 Ulväng 2019, pp. 97-128.
- 6 Habakkuk 1994.
- 7 Finch and Dyrmann 2019, pp. 18-21.
- 8 Finch 2019, pp. 59-95.
- 9 Finch 2019, pp. 59-95.
- 10 Clemenson 1982.
- 11 Williamson 1995.
- 12 Worsley 2004.
- 13 Finch 2004, pp. 41-51.
- 14 Clemenson 1982, pp. 86-91.
- 15 Erichsen and Venborg Pedersen 2014, p. 181.
- 16 Fuller 1976, pp. 14-24.
- 17 Christiansen 1996, p. 37-39.
- 18 Finch 2019, pp. 84-86
- 19 Christensen 1983, pp. 30-34, and Kjærgaard 1994.

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